



THE KEYNOTER



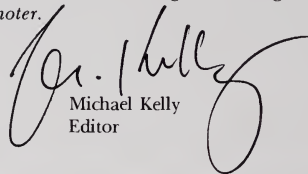
"Keep Cool With Coolidge"
The Campaigns of Calvin Coolidge

Editor's Message

To begin with a cliché, 1992 has swept past in a flash. Here is the last issue of my first year as editor of *The Keynoter*. It seems appropriate to finish this year of political change with the story of Calvin Coolidge. Coolidge was the last president of an era that began with McKinley. It was an era in which America left the Civil War behind and entered the industrial age while still retaining an emotional loyalty to its rural past. Voters took solace in the myth of small town purity and the verities of farm life even as they flocked to the cities in search of wealth and excitement. After Coolidge came Herbert Hoover, an international mining engineer who was anything but a symbol of the small town. After Hoover came Franklin Delano Roosevelt and modern times.

Likewise in 1992 we see the last President to serve in World War II leave office to be replaced by the first "baby boomer" in the White House. Each of us may have our own opinions as to whether this is a moment of joy or sorrow, but all of us should appreciate its significance. Our study of the past may well illuminate the future...and besides, even if it doesn't, there are some *great* buttons pictured in this issue.

Particular thanks to Larry Krug and Robert Rouse for their knowledge and willingness to share that knowledge with the readers of *The Keynoter*.



Michael Kelly
Editor

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APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

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Illustrations: The editor wishes to thank the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Harvey Goldberg, J. R. Greene, Theodore Hake, Larry Krug, Robert Rouse and M. J. Wenzel.

Covers: *Front:* 6" RWB celluloid button; *Back:* black line cartoon from 1929 *New Yorker* magazine.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

The next issue will feature Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society.

Keep Cool With Coolidge

By Michael Kelly

"I'm a Yankee Doodle Dandy,
A Yankee Doodle do or die!
A real live nephew of my Uncle Sam,
Born on the Fourth of July!"

- Popular song



Born on July 4th, 1872, in Plymouth, Vermont where his family had resided since 1791, John Calvin Coolidge came to personify the austere Yankee integrity of New England during an era when the United States indulged in reckless spending, loose morals and unprecedented frivolity. Historians have since denigrated his presidency — often because of their own political and cultural agendas, given the subsequent Depression and New Deal — but Calvin Coolidge was wildly popular while in office and remains a well known cultural icon to this day.

Best known today as the author of a score of sharp and concise witticisms, he was a more complex and productive man than is usually thought. One thing is clear; he was a brilliant politician. He won a dizzying succession of public offices during an era when terms for most state offices were only one year, moving from state senator to Vice President of the United States in a single decade.

Only one year after he graduated *cum laude* from Amherst in 1895, the 24 year old Coolidge was elected as an alternate delegate to the Republican state convention. The very next year he was admitted to the Massachusetts bar and made a member of the Republican city committee in Northampton. The following year he was a delegate to the state convention and elected to the city council. Two years later he was elected city attorney, re-elected the following year and defeated the year thereafter. By 1906 he had married, had a son and been elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Despite his later reputation as a cautious, slow moving president, Calvin Coolidge was clearly a young man in a hurry when it came to politics.

After two terms in the state House, he was elected mayor of Northampton in 1909. He would not be out of public office again until he left the White House in 1929. After being re-elected to a second term as mayor, Coolidge was then elected to the state senate. After three terms in the state senate, Coolidge was elected Lieutenant Governor in a landslide. Serving under Gov. Samuel W. McCall during an era when Massachusetts politics was awash with significant political personalities, Coolidge made a reputation for himself for the brevity and wit of his speech.

When a long-winded legislator delivered a lengthy, tedious speech in support of a piece of legislation, the windbag utilized a series of oratorical repetitions, each of which began with "Mr. Speaker, it is..." When he finally

finished, Coolidge stood to speak. When recognized, he simply said, "Mr. Speaker, it is...not" and sat down. The legislature laughed and voted with Coolidge to defeat the bill.

Coolidge was re-elected as Lt. Governor in 1916 and again in 1917. As a sign of how crowded the political field was in Massachusetts during that time, the state fielded no fewer than three presidential hopefuls in 1916 on the Republican side alone, including Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Governor Samuel McCall and Secretary of War John Weeks. A handsome multigate button exists from the April 25, 1916 Massachusetts presidential primary urging the election of a slate of unpledged electors. The button pictures Lodge, McCall and Weeks plus party leader Winthrop Murray Crane.

Calvin Coolidge was biding his time during this competition, awaiting his opportunity. One widely quoted story from this era tells of Coolidge presiding over the state senate when two senators lost their tempers during an angry debate. One senator told the other to "go to hell". The insulted senator appealed to Coolidge to do something about the insult. Cal allowed a moment of silence before drawing his reply. "I've looked up the law, Senator," Coolidge said, "and you don't have to go there."

In 1918, Coolidge easily won election as governor. The following year was to prove the year that made Coolidge a national figure. 1919 started calmly enough with the recently inaugurated governor welcoming President Woodrow Wilson to Boston as Wilson returned from the Paris Peace Conference. But in the aftermath of World War I, long suppressed labor grievances were breaking out across the nation stimulating the "Red Scare".

In July, Boston's police commissioner issued an order forbidding police officers to establish a union. In August, the Boston Police Union was defiantly chartered. In September, the police commissioner suspended 19 officers who were union leaders. The police voted 1134 to 2 to go on strike and walked off the job. With police on strike, disorder and looting broke out in Boston. Although slow to act at first, Coolidge sent in the National Guard at the mayor's request and order was restored.

With the eyes of a frightened nation on Boston, Coolidge made a public statement that "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time."



**VICE
PRESIDENTIAL
NOTIFICATION
OF
CALVIN
COOLIDGE**

The public applauded Coolidge as a symbol of order in a time of disruption and concern. Nine days after his statement he was renominated governor in the Republican primary and went on to an easy re-election in November. That Fall the first references to him as a potential presidential candidate began to appear in the national press.

The 1920 Republican National Convention was one of the most famous in history. The complex tale of a deadlock between Illinois Governor Frank Lowden, General Leonard Wood and California Senator Hiram Johnson that led to the original "smoke filled room" and the nomination of an obscure senator named Warren Harding is too rich a tale to try to tell here. Let it suffice to say that the delegates were tired, dissatisfied and resentful of their leaders when it came time to pick a vice presidential candidate.

As the final ballot for the presidential nomination was still under way, the cabal of U.S. senators that had pushed the presidential nomination to Harding realized that they had yet to pick a running mate. Without even consulting with their presidential candidate, six senators gathered in a dimly lit space beneath the speaker's platform to make the decision. The small group decided to give the second slot to yet another senator, Irvine Lenroot of Wisconsin. Lenroot was a progressive who would add balance to the ticket. Lenroot himself had no idea what was happening and when informed of their decision, hesitated to agree.

The senators didn't wait for their colleague's consent and sent Illinois Senator Medill McCormick to the podium to place Lenroot's name in nomination for vice president. As he walked by the press table, McCormick shouted to a friendly reporter, "We're going to put Lenroot in with Harding." The surprised journalist shouted back, "The hell you are."

As McCormick began his speech, the delegates on the floor began to stir angrily. They had come to the convention to fight passionately for Lowden, Wood or Johnson and had been forced to swallow Harding against their will. Now they were being asked to take another senator for vice president without so much as being asked their opinion. In making the speech for Lenroot, McCormick used a common rhetorical technique. He described a series of admirable virtues without revealing the name of the candidate until the end. The technique backfired. Every time he would state a quality needed in the candidate, delegates would call out "Coolidge!"

An electric sense of rebellion swept the hall. As speakers stepped forward to second Lenroot's nomination, chants for Coolidge began to break out. When delegate Wallace McCamant of Oregon took the podium to make another seconding speech for Lenroot, he surprised party leaders by launching into a speech nominating Coolidge.

The hall exploded in applause and delegates rushed forward to second the nomination for Coolidge. Within moments the senatorial leadership knew they had lost control and bowed to the inevitable. When the votes were counted Coolidge won the nomination with 674½ votes to Lenroot's 164½ and around a hundred or so for others. The delegates were delirious with their successful rebellion.

86 year old Chauncey DePew told Coolidge, "I have been present at every Republican Convention beginning

with 1856 and I have never seen such a spontaneous and enthusiastic tribute as the vote for you for Vice President."

Back in Boston, the telephone rang in the modest two room apartment where Calvin and Grace Coolidge lived with their children. Calvin answered the phone, listened and hung up. He turned to his wife and said, "I have been nominated for Vice President."

"You are not going to accept, are you?" she asked.

Without changing expression, he replied, "I suppose I shall have to."

The Fall campaign pitted Harding and Coolidge against James Cox and Franklin Roosevelt. Harding barely campaigned at all, staying in his hometown of Marion, Ohio, and greeting visiting delegations from around the country. Cox, by contrast, travelled 22,000 miles and spoke before 2 million people. It did him little good, as the Harding-Coolidge ticket swamped Cox-Roosevelt in a record breaking landslide.

As Vice President, Calvin Coolidge brought a calm, down-to-earth quality that pleased a public worn out from the dramatic Progressive Era followed by a world war. The new Vice President was soon the topic of scores of funny stories that emphasized his modesty, dry humor and brevity of speech. Shortly after his inauguration, he received a dinner invitation from a man unknown to him. When he asked his secretary to find out who the man was, she replied that his name wasn't even listed in the Social Register.

"No conclusion can be drawn from that," the new Vice President replied, "I've been in it myself only half an hour."

Grace Coolidge told of the dinner party when the Vice President found himself seated next to a society matron who gushed, "You must talk to me, Mr. Coolidge. I made a bet today that I could get more than two words out of you."

"You lose," he said and turned away.

When his successor as governor of Massachusetts, Channing Cox, paid him a courtesy call in Washington,

the new governor asked how Coolidge had been able to see so many visitors each day and still manage to leave the governor's office by 5 p.m. Cox confessed that he often found himself at work until 9 p.m. due to the press of visitors. "Why the difference?" he asked Coolidge.

"You talk back," he answered.

He later advised Herbert Hoover how to get rid of long winded visitors: "If you keep dead still they will run down in three or four minutes."

Perhaps the most famous Coolidge story wasn't true although his wife said it was such a good story that "it is almost a pity to refute it." According to the story, Grace wasn't able to accompany Calvin to Church one Sunday. When he returned, she asked whether he had enjoyed the sermon. "Yes," he said. "What was it about?" she asked. "Sin," he replied. "But what did the pastor say?" Grace insisted. "He was against it," said Coolidge.

A true story tells of how Coolidge was invited to cable a greeting to a meeting of his fellow Amherst alumni. Hoping for a long message, the sponsors of the meeting told Coolidge that the telegram should be sent collect. At the climax of the meeting, Coolidge's name was announced to tumultuous applause and then the message was read; "Greetings. Calvin Coolidge."

It was just such stories that led one campaign button manufacturer to use the slogan "Deeds Not Words".

The Vice President was a popular part of the Harding administration and remained untouched by growing scandals that soon emerged. When a harried President Harding collapsed and died while on a Western tour, Coolidge was vacationing at his father's home in Plymouth, Vermont. Word arrived shortly after midnight on August 3, 1923. "Guess we'd better have a drink," was Coolidge's response so he walked to the town's general store, had a soft drink (Moxie) and phoned the Attorney General in Washington to see what he should do. He confirmed that his father, as a



notary public, was authorized to swear his son in as President and then walked back to his father's house. There, by the light of a kerosene lamp, Calvin Coolidge took his oath of office as President of the United States.

With Harding's death and news of political scandals breaking out, Americans took solace in the quiet integrity of their new president. Stories of his frugality and simplicity of speech became a national pastime. Admirers boasted that "he could be silent in five languages" while detractors sneered "he looks as if he'd been weaned on a pickle." But the political reality was that the nation was experiencing a wave of unprecedented prosperity and Americans always approve of the president when times are good, and times were very good in the mid Twenties. Although Prohibition made alcohol illegal, it appeared as if drinking actually went *up*. The stock market certainly went up and kept going up while women's skirts and hair grew shorter. Hot jazz and new dance crazes swept the country as the "Roaring Twenties" burst out in full swing.

Against the backdrop of a frantic social scene, quiet Calvin Coolidge provided a reassuring sense that America was still that small town society of the past. He gave the country a feeling of security and was known for his long daytime naps, often awaking with a smile to ask his secretary, "Is the country still there?" When Coolidge attended a performance of a play featuring the Marx Brothers, Groucho Marx spied him in the audience and said, "Isn't it past your bedtime, Calvin?"

H. L. Mencken said, "A remarkable man, a really remarkable man. Nero fiddled while Rome burned but Coolidge only snores."

But such characterizations do not do justice to the man. One example of how the reality of Calvin Coolidge conflicts with his popular image is the realm of race relations. In an era when vicious racism was the norm, Black voting rights in the South almost nonexistent, lynching commonplace and the Ku Klux Klan a large and powerful national organization, Calvin Coolidge was an outspoken advocate of Black Americans. Although by today's standards his remarks may seem tame, by the standards of his time he spoke with boldness. He raised the

image of the Negro as a military figure, articulated injustice in terms his audience would accept, repeatedly decried racist violence and called for full equality.

When accepting the 1920 vice presidential nomination, he stated, "There is especially due to the Colored race a more general recognition of their constitutional rights. Tempted with disloyalty, they remained loyal, serving in the military with distinction, obedient to the draft to the extent of hundreds of thousands, investing one dollar out of every five they possessed in Liberty bonds. Surely they hold the double title of citizenship, by birth and by conquest, to be relieved from all imposition, to be defended from lynching and to be freely granted equal opportunities."

While President, Coolidge was asked to intervene when New York Republicans were preparing to nominate a Black congressional candidate. In response to a letter asking him to prevent the nomination, he wrote, "I am amazed to receive such a letter." He went on to write about Black soldiers in the recent war and pointed out that a half million Black Americans were called up in the draft "not one of whom sought to evade it...The suggestion of denying any measure of their full political rights to such a great group of our population as the Colored people is one which, however it might be received in some other quarters, could not possibly be permitted by one who feels a responsibility for living up to the traditions and maintaining the principles of the Republican Party."

It was an issue he often revisited in his public statements. His first annual Message to Congress in 1923 includes the passage: "The Congress ought to exercise all its powers of prevention and punishment against the hideous crime of lynching, of which the Negroes are by no means the sole sufferers, but for which they furnish a majority of the victims" and recommended a half million dollar authorization (a huge sum in 1923) to Howard University medical school to train Black doctors.

His 1924 Annual Message to Congress again discussed the Black community and stated, "I firmly believe that it is better for all concerned that they should be cheerfully accorded their full constitutional rights, that they should be protected from all those impositions to which, from

COOLIDGE and DAWES





their position, they naturally fall a prey, especially from the crime of lynching, and that they should receive every encouragement to become full partakers in all the blessings of our common American citizenship." Again in his 1925 Annual Message to Congress: "The progress which they have made in all the arts of civilization in the last 60 years is almost beyond belief. Our country has no more loyal citizens." At the 1924 Republican National Convention, Coolidge intervened to seat delegates from the Southern "Black and Tan" party factions challenged by rival "Lily White" factions.

Coolidge skillfully outmaneuvered potential rivals for the 1924 nomination, formally announcing his intention to run for his own term in late 1923. Although Hiram Johnson and others tried to challenge Coolidge for the 1924 nomination, he won on the first ballot with all but 44 delegate votes. Given his experience, the President left the choice of a running mate to the convention. "It did it in 1920," he commented, "and it picked a durned good man."

The delegates didn't handle their power that well. Despite his insistence that he didn't want the nomination, they picked Illinois' Frank Lowden for vice president on the second ballot. The proud Lowden considered the nomination beneath him and refused the nomination, thereby effectively ending his political career. A very rare and handsome jugate button exists for the Coolidge-Lowden ticket (although it misspells his name as "Louden").

Illinois didn't lose the spot, however, as the delegates then picked Charles G. Dawes to fill out the ticket. Dawes was a Chicago banker who had served as the first Director of the Budget in the Harding administration. It says much about the public's attitude toward business in the days before the Great Depression that a political party would put a banker on its ticket.

What minor problems were evident at the GOP gathering were nothing compared to the disaster when the Democrats gathered in New York's Madison Square Garden for their convention. The East battled the West, the Wets battled the Drys, the Catholics battled the Klan and Al Smith battled William Gibbs McAdoo for 103 ballots until the party collapsed in exhaustion. The Democrats finally

coughed up a ticket of John W. Davis and Charles W. Bryan (brother of William Jennings Bryan) and staggered home. To make matters worse, Wisconsin's fiery Senator Robert LaFollette had entered the field with running mate Senator Burton Wheeler of Montana under the banner of the Progressive Party. With the opposition vote divided and the economy booming, Calvin Coolidge was heavily favored for re-election.

Prospects of a national campaign didn't change Coolidge's speaking style. When reporters requested a press conference with the President, the first question was "Do you have any statement on the campaign?" "No," came the reply. "Can you tell us something about the world situation," asked another reporter. "No," responded Coolidge. "Any information about Prohibition?" asked a third. "No," said the President. As the disappointed reporters filed out of the room, Coolidge called to them: "Now, remember - don't quote me."

One set of items unique to the Coolidge campaign are from the Home Town Coolidge Club of Plymouth, Vermont. As America's population left farms and small towns to pour into the cities, they began to hold up the way of life left behind as a symbol of simpler, better days. Coolidge was seen as a living example of these small town virtues and Republicans around the country mailed their \$10 contributions to Plymouth, Vermont to become charter members of the Home Town Coolidge Club. In return they received a receipt, button, membership card and copy of the Official Campaign Song of the Home Town Coolidge Club;

"In a quaint New England farmhouse
on an early summer's day,
a farmer's boy became our Chief
in a homely, simple way.
With neither pomp nor pageantry
he firmly met the task,
to keep him on that job of his
is all the people ask.
So, 'keep cool and keep Coolidge'
for the good old USA..."



THE OFFICIAL
CAMPAIGN SONG OF THE HOME TOWN COOLIDGE CLUB
OF
PLYMOUTH, VERMONT

KEEP COOL AND KEEP COOLIDGE



MUSIC BY BRUCE HARPER WORDS BY IDA CHEEVER GOODWIN

BAND, ORCHESTRA,
MALE QUARTET & MIXED QUARTET,
ARRANGEMENTS MAY BE OBTAINED FROM THE PUBLISHERS

PUBLISHED BY
HOME TOWN COOLIDGE CLUB, PLYMOUTH, VERMONT

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

This snappy melody was available both on a card and on a fan that could be rolled to serve double duty as a megaphone for cheering the Grand Old Party.

Plymouth was the starting point for another special campaign event, an automobile caravan that crossed the country to San Francisco via the Lincoln Highway, boosting the Coolidge-Dawes ticket on the way. Dubbed the Lincoln Tour, the caravan was led by a special truck (an REO speed wagon) on which was painted portraits of the candidates and huge pictures of the small cottage in Plymouth where the President had been born. The truck bore such slogans as "Common Sense and Brass Tacks" and carried speakers and material from town to town. Political figures would join their cars to the caravan for several stops and then be replaced by a new assortment of local luminaries. The arrival of this caravan in a town served as a perfect excuse to rally the faithful and would often be celebrated with festivities featuring some good old Republican speech making.

Democrats warned of the dangers facing the Republic with a slogan: "A Vote for Coolidge is a Vote for Chaos." The GOP replied with a classic: "Keep Cool with Coolidge."

In 1924, "cool" did not mean hip. It meant the opposite: steady, dependable and calm. Like all great slogans, it was

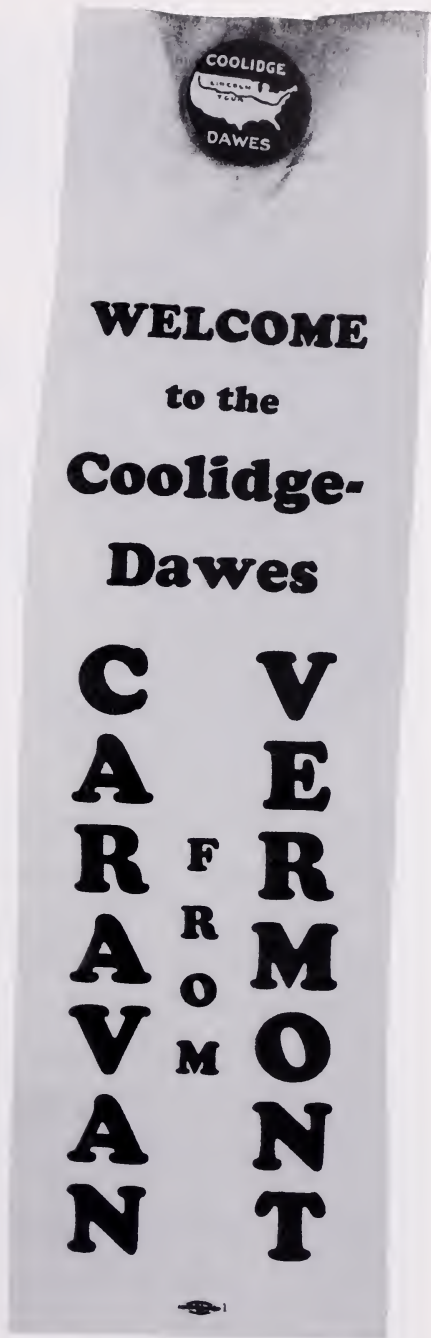
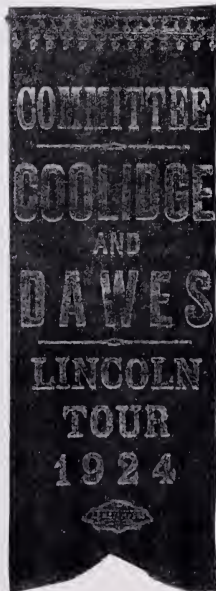
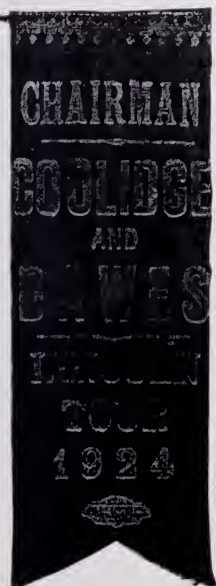
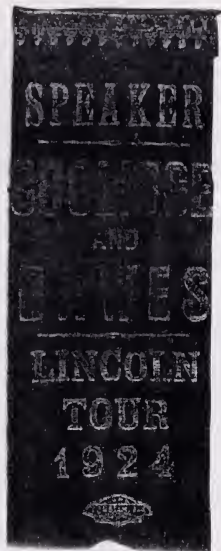
a perfect reflection of the candidate. Like all great slogans, it was to be found on a raft of items. While fans were particularly popular as they made "keeping cool" all the easier, buttons, sheet music and other campaign items carried the message throughout the nation.

Some items looked back to the days of McKinley's Full Dinner Pail and Teddy Roosevelt's Square Deal; "Keep Square Deal Coolidge" suggest one photo pin while another button pictures the Coolidge home with the legend "On the Square." Most items, however, modestly asked voters to just "Keep Coolidge."

The modest claims on behalf of the candidate were reflected in other buttons as well. "Let Well Enough Alone" advises one picture pin although others promoted "Courage-Duty-Confidence" or "Courage-Confidence-Coolidge". One hyperactive button actually rouses itself to the level of "Let's Go with Coolidge" but more typical were "Coolidge of Course" and "Safe with Cal". "Silent-Safe-Sure" boasts another button while a second dubs the candidates "Safe and Sane."

Sanity was, apparently, well regarded that year as the November election gave the Coolidge-Dawes ticket a landslide over its opponents. The Republicans took 54% of the vote versus 29% for the Democrats and 17% for LaFollette, a huge majority despite the three way race.





THE COOLIDGE-DAWES CARAVAN

Will Arrive in

**ROCK SPRINGS
FRIDAY AFTERNOON 10
OCTOBER - - 10**

This Caravan is enroute over the Lincoln Highway from Plymouth, Vermont, (Coolidge's "Old Home Town") to San Francisco, and carries a message of interest to all the people along the route



© Wallager Photo, Chicago



Friday Evening a Meeting will
be held at the

GRAND THEATRE

at which time several speakers of National reputation will address the people of Sweetwater county on the vital issues of the day.

Speakers will also be present from Plymouth, Vt., who will tell you what the "Home Town Folks"—the people who know him best—think of
CALVIN COOLIDGE

- YOU ARE INVITED -

Admission Free



© E. L. Ray Photo, Evanston, Ill.

Oct. 11 1924 **TO-NIGHT** Oct. 11 1924

Republican Rally

AT EIGHT O'CLOCK

In Honor of the Republicans Accompanying the
Coolidge-Dawes Caravan

Come and meet these gentlemen

Distinguished speakers, including Hon. Herbert L Moore, the boyhood chum of the President. will address the meeting. Turn out and give the Caravan a real Uinta county kind of welcome

EVERYONE INVITED.
FREE DANCE.

No Admission Charged No Collection Taken
Uinta County Republican Central Committee



LaFollette Cartoon



"Keep Cool" Fans

His inaugural address on March 4, 1925 was the first inaugural address ever broadcast over radio to a listening nation. Coolidge remained very popular throughout his term and tragedies such as the death of his father and the death of his son only endeared him to the public. Throughout his years in office, he remained the same cautious, quiet personality.

Returning from a speech in Omaha, his train stopped for fuel in a small Missouri town to find that a crowd of over two thousand people had gathered in hopes of seeing the President. An aide woke the dozing Coolidge and asked if he would say a word to the crowd. The President rose, smoothed his hair, straightened his jacket and walked out to the platform at the rear of the train. The crowd cheered when they saw him and cheered again when Mrs. Coolidge appeared. The local master of ceremonies shushed the crowd. "Now you folks keep quiet," he said importantly, "I want absolute silence. The President is going to address us." The crowd quickly hushed. "All right," the self-important local politician said, turning to the President, "Mr. President, you may speak now."

At that moment there was a hiss of air as the brakes were released and the train began to roll out of town. With a smile, the President raised his hand to the crowd and said, "Goodbye."

He didn't need many more words than that to announce his decision to step down as President despite all indications that he could have been easily re-elected to yet another term. With no advance warning, he walked up to a group of reporters and handed them a handwritten note that read "I do not choose to run for President in nineteen twenty eight."

He got out while the getting was good. Less than eight months after he left office came the October 1929 stock market crash and the onset of the Great Depression. During those days of panic, many voters remembered the prosperity of the Coolidge era and wished that he were still president. As the 1932 election approached, actor Otis Skinner told Coolidge, "I wish it were you that we were going to vote for in November. It would be the end of this horrible depression."

Coolidge replied, "It would be the beginning of mine."

As the nation reeled from economic chaos, Calvin Coolidge died on January 5, 1933, less than two months before Franklin Roosevelt would take office. He was mourned by the public of that time as a beloved figure and remains to this day one of the unique political personalities ever to occupy the White House.★

*I do not choose
to run for President
in nineteen twenty
eight*

Coolidge 1928 Announcement



KEEP
COOL
WITH
COOLIDGE

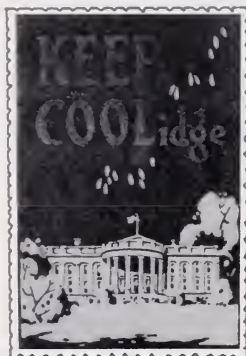


SAFE WITH



KEEP
COOLIDGE





Coolidge Stamps



Pre-Election Night Ribbon



Phonograph Record



Watch Fob



Watch Fob



Cigar Band





Postcard



Watch Fobs



Calvin Coolidge Speaks Out

It will take you only 6 minutes to read these words of wisdom he uttered in Madison Square Garden, Oct. 11, 1932.



Bells



Cloth Patch



Thimble



1924: Choosing the Vice President

By Robert Rouse

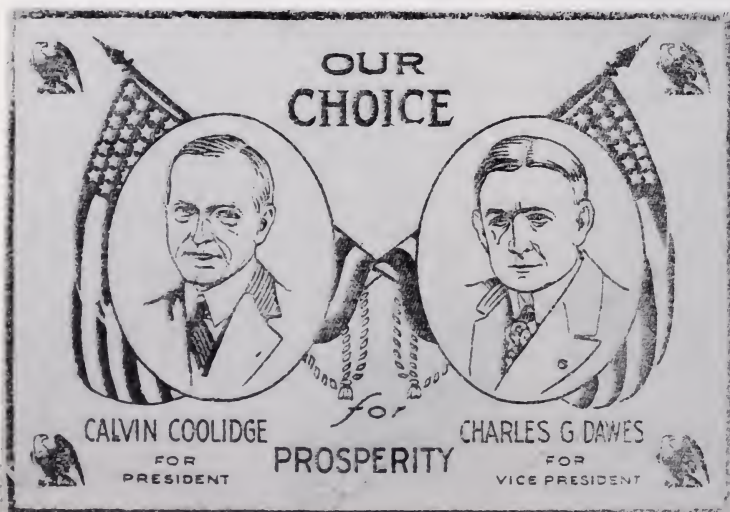
President Coolidge's first choice for Vice President was Senator William E. Borah, "The Lion of Idaho", but Borah had no interest in the job. Prior to the convention he wrote, "I have no desire to sit mute and be a figurehead for four long years...in fact, I would die of nervous prostrations and, secondly, I have no desire to become President by accident." In another letter he said, "I have always felt that one of the saddest things in the world was for a person to attempt suicide and not succeed but to maim himself for life. Politically, I think that is just what that (the Vice Presidency) would be."

Borah did not attend the 1924 convention. There is an old story that his enemies planned to offer him the Vice Presidency, convince him to accept it, and then have the convention fail to nominate him. To protect against any such embarrassment, Borah sent a telegram to his colleague, Albert Beveridge, instructing him to withdraw his name if it was presented for nomination. Nevertheless, President Coolidge invited Borah to the White House during the convention. He reportedly told Borah that he wished very strongly that he would take a place on the ticket. Impishly Borah replied, "Which place, Mr. President?" Coolidge was not amused.

The second choice was Frank O. Lowden, who is pictured on a rare jugate with Coolidge, although Lowden's name is misspelled on the button. Lowden was a millionaire farmer and businessman who served as a

reform governor of Illinois from 1917 to 1921. He was also the son-in-law of millionaire industrialist, George M. Pullman. Lowden was nominated on the second ballot at the convention but he stunned the delegates and embarrassed the President by withdrawing his name just as the convention was moving to make the vote unanimous!

Coolidge then turned to Charles G. Dawes, an engineer/lawyer turned banker from Chicago. Dawes had served as the nation's first director of the Budget Bureau in 1921-1922. He was then named chairman of the Reparations Committee which examined the financial condition of Germany. The committee drafted the Dawes Plan which reduced reparations payments and recommended other measures to stabilize the German economy. For this he was awarded the 1925 Nobel Peace prize. As Vice President, Dawes did not get along well with Coolidge. Coolidge was embarrassed by Dawes' letter advising him he did not wish to attend cabinet meetings. On Inauguration Day, Dawes upstaged the President when he denounced the Congress and demanded the repeal of the filibuster rule. The final break came when Coolidge's nominee for Attorney General failed to gain confirmation in the Senate on a tie vote. The Vice President who should have cast the tie breaking vote to carry the day for the administration was napping in the Willard Hotel! Dawes later served Hoover as Ambassador to Great Britain and President of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.





Coolidge and Who?

Coolidge and Dawes, That's Who.

By Harvey Goldberg



Charles G. Dawes with his famous "upside-down" pipe.

"VOTE COOLIDGE AND DAWES," the button says. We know Calvin Coolidge fairly well.... the man of very few words from Vermont, Warren G. Harding's VP, became President on Harding's death, sworn in by his own father, etc. But what of Dawes?

Charles Gates Dawes, born in 1865 in Marietta, Ohio, was not your typical politician. In fact, a view of his career shows that he really wasn't very much of a politician at all. A graduate of Marietta College & Cincinnati Law School, Dawes served as Chief Engineer for Construction with the Columbus & Northern Ohio Railway. After moving to Lincoln, Nebraska, Dawes was admitted to the Bar and began his legal practice with the firm of Dawes, Coffroth, & Cunningham. Business interests began to overshadow his law career: president of Lincoln Packing Company in

1890, director of the American Exchange National Bank in 1891, Northwestern Gas Light & Coke Co. 1892, and La Crosse Wisconsin Gas Light Co. in 1893.

Politically he was a Republican and led the Illinois GOP in support of William McKinley. He was named a member of the Republican National Executive Committee. President McKinley appointed Charles Dawes United States Comptroller of the Currency, where he served from 1897-1901. He proposed reforms in the banking structure to prevent a repetition of conditions which occurred during the depression of the 1890's.

Dawes resigned from his post in October 1901 to campaign for the United States Senate, but withdrew from the campaign when he received no support. In 1902 he became president of the Central Trust Company in Chicago until 1921, at which time he became Chairman of the Board. In between, Dawes published his *Essays & Speeches* in 1915. His first book, *The Banking System of the United States*, was published in 1892.

His son Rufus had been drowned in 1912 and Dawes founded the Rufus Fearing Dawes Hotel for Destitute Men in Chicago & Boston. He also established the Mary Dawes Hotel for Women in Chicago in 1920 in memory of his mother.

In June 1917, soon after America entered World War I, Charles Dawes was commissioned a major in the U.S. Army. Promoted to lieutenant colonel six weeks later, he went to France with the AEF under General John J. Pershing. In October 1918 Brigadier General Dawes was named U.S. member of the Military Board of Allied Supply, coordinating and controlling the allied supply lines for the remainder of the war. He received a Distinguished Service Medal as well as foreign recognition for his work: French Croix de Guerre & Legion of Honor, British





Order of the Bath, Italian Orders of St. Maurice & St. Lazarus, and the Belgian Order of Leopold. In November 1918 General Dawes became a member of the Liquidation Commission. He resigned from the army in August 1919, urging ratification of the Versailles Treaty and U.S. participation in the League of Nations.

Dawes ran unsuccessfully for the Republican nomination for President in 1920, but when the Bureau of the Budget was created by Congress the following year, Dawes was named its first director. That year also saw publication of *A Journal of the Great War*.

Resigning from the Bureau, the businessman-economist-budget genius-political hopeful was appointed one of the American members of an international committee whose purpose was to balance the German budget and stabilize its currency. He eventually formulated the Dawes Plan which created order out of the German economy. The German currency was stabilized by a loan of 800 million gold marks from abroad, raising 11 billion gold marks by mortgaging the German railroads, and by mortgaging German industries for another 5 billion gold marks, helping the former world war enemies to repay part of their war debt. For his work, Charles Dawes was awarded the 1925 Nobel Peace Prize, along with Sir Austen Chamberlain.

In Chicago, Republicans nominated Charles Gates Dawes as the running mate on the ticket with Calvin Coolidge for the 1924 Presidential campaign. On November 4 they were elected over the Democratic ticket of John W. Davis and Charles Bryan by almost a 2-to-1 popular vote and 382 to 136 electoral votes. The 3rd-party Progressive ticket of Robert LaFollette and Burton Wheeler carried

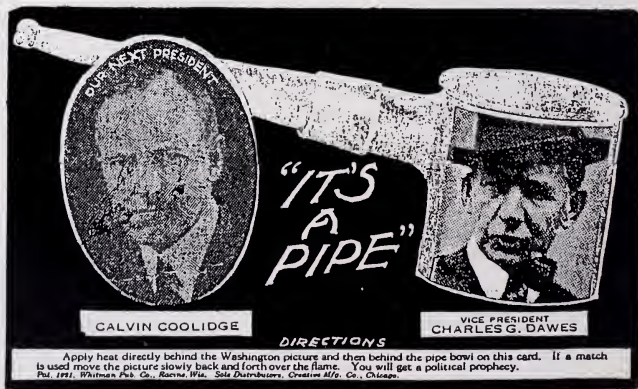
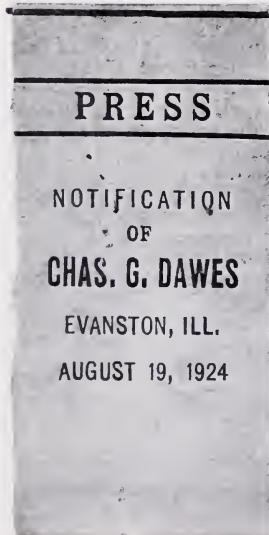
the state of Wisconsin and 13 electoral votes.

As Vice President, Charles Dawes tried to no avail to convince the Senate to revise its rules, especially the one which permitted filibuster. In 1928 he received four votes for the GOP Presidential nomination at the Kansas City National Convention. President Herbert Hoover appointed him Ambassador to Great Britain in April 1929, and Dawes was involved in the London Conference on Naval Limitations in 1930. Resigning his diplomatic post in 1931, he then became chairman of the National Economic League. After serving as president of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation at the urging of Hoover, Charles Dawes returned to his private banking interests in 1932.

He continued to publish works including *Notes As Vice President* (1935), *A Journal of Reparations* and *A Journal As Ambassador To Great Britain* (1939), and *A Journal of the McKinley Years* in 1951. Dawes loved music, taught himself to play the flute and the piano, even composed a dozen pieces that were published, and continuously gave generous support to the Chicago Grand Opera Company. One of his idiosyncracies was the "upside down" pipe, his own invention - with reversed bowl - that he always smoked.

Charles Dawes died in April 1951, having held more executive and corporate leadership positions than any of his contemporaries and colleagues. He was buried in Chicago, almost unrecognized for all his successes and accomplishments in banking and finance.

People outside the Republican Party knew little of Charles Gates Dawes when he was elected Vice President in 1924, and most know little more of the man today.



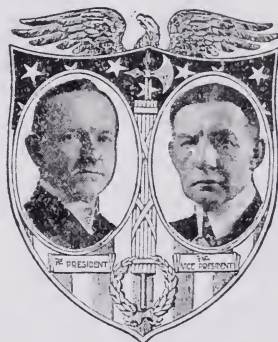


and
The Whole
Republican
Ticket

Nov. 4th
1924

COOLIDGE & DAWES
REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES
FOR
PRESIDENT & VICE PRESIDENT
1924

COOLIDGE-DAWES RALLY SONG



COOLIDGE—DAWES

By ELLA M. BOSTON
Tune—"Hold The Fort"
September, 1924

Endorsed by
Mrs. VIRGINIA WHITE SPEEL
President of the League of Republican Women
of the District of Columbia

Copyright, 1924, by Ella M. Boston, Washington, D. C.

COOLIDGE DAWES



The Coolidge Coattails

By Robert Rouse



President Coolidge attracted coattail candidates from Oklahoma to New England during the 1924 campaign. In Oklahoma, oilman William B. Pine, was elected to the Senate in 1924. Six years later the economy had changed dramatically and he lost his bid for re-election. In 1934 he ran for governor without success.

In Indiana, Republicans issued sheet music picturing Lincoln, Dawes and Ed Jackson, who was elected governor. The back side of the sheet music carries biographical sketches of Jackson and eleven other local candidates.

In Detroit, John B. Sosnowski was elected to his only term in Congress on Coolidge's coattails. He lost the party's nomination in 1926 but won it 16 years later when he lost the first of three unsuccessful bids for Congress. Harry L. Davis appears on a jugate button and on a beautiful advertising card from Columbiana County in eastern Ohio, south of Youngstown. Davis lost the race for governor to Vic Donahey.

A number of Northeastern candidates tied their campaigns to the President's. In New Hampshire, John G. Winant was elected governor over Frederick Brown. Winant was re-elected in 1930 and 1932.

The Coolidge-Weeks jugate is from the 1918 campaign when Coolidge won the first of his two one-year terms as governor of Massachusetts. John W. Weeks had served eight years in the House and one term in the Senate before losing the 1918 race to David I. Walsh. Weeks later served as Secretary of War in the Harding and Coolidge administrations and his son, Sinclair Weeks, was Secretary of Commerce in the Eisenhower administration.

In Massachusetts, Republicans issued two trigrams showing Alvan T. Fuller and Frederick Gillett with Coolidge. Fuller defeated the colorful James M. Curley for governor in 1924. He was re-elected in 1926. Curley came back 10 years later and won the governorship. He wasn't renominated in 1936; but he tried again in 1938 and he lost to Leverett Saltonstall.

Frederick Gillett, Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives from 1919-1925, was elected to the Senate after serving 32 years in the House. He beat the incumbent, David I. Walsh, by less than 20,000 votes out of more than 1,100,000 ballots cast. Walsh was returned to the Senate in 1926 in a special election to complete the term of Henry Cabot Lodge, who died November 9, 1924. He held the seat for 21 years until he was defeated by Henry Cabot Lodge Jr.



In Connecticut, Hiram Bingham, a former professor and South American explorer was elected governor with 66 percent of the vote. Six weeks later he won a special Senate election with 60 percent of the vote. He was inaugurated governor on January 7, 1925 and resigned one day later to assume his Senate seat. He won a full term in 1926 with 63 percent of the vote, then lost his bid for re-election in 1932 by less than one percent of the vote.

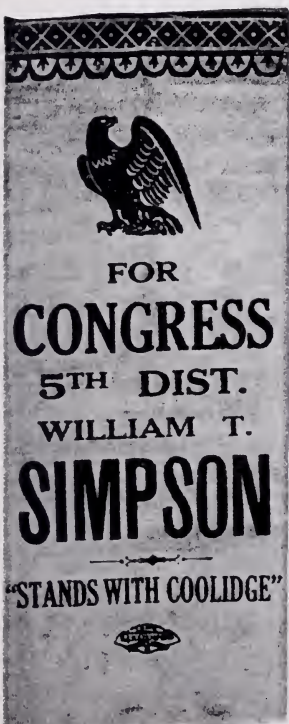
Several New York candidates issued coattail items. Theodore Roosevelt Jr.'s campaign issued a ribbon in his unsuccessful bid to unseat Governor Al Smith. Congressman Robert Bacon of Long Island sent out postcards picturing himself and carrying the message, "Help express approval of President Coolidge by sending back to Congress a man who has always consistently and loyally supported our President." The voters responded by electing

him to the second of his eight terms. In the fifth district (Brooklyn), William T. Simpson issued a ribbon but lost to the incumbent, Loring Black Jr., in a close race.

Walter Edge appeared on two Hughes coattail buttons in 1916 when he was elected Governor of New Jersey. He resigned after winning a Senate seat in 1918. He was re-elected in 1924 and his campaign produced the Coolidge/Dawes/Edge button and a 5 1/2" x 4 1/2" R/W/B cardboard shield. He resigned from the Senate in 1929 when President Hoover appointed him Ambassador to France. In 1944 he was elected to another term as governor.

Delaware Republicans distributed several items including a two inch trigate mirror, name pins, a bullet-shaped pencil and a R/W/B rectangular enamel pin to promote Thomas Coleman DuPont for US Senator; Robert Robinson for governor; and Robert G. Houston for

COOLIDGE
DUPTON INSON



SAFE—SANE—STEADY



© Coolidge, Underwood & Underwood

© Dawes, Eugene L. Ray

REPUBLICAN PARTY CANDIDATES
Election Tuesday, November 4, 1924

© John R. McPettridge & Sons, Phila.

Moisten edge this side—but not the printing—place flat on glass, smooth out carefully

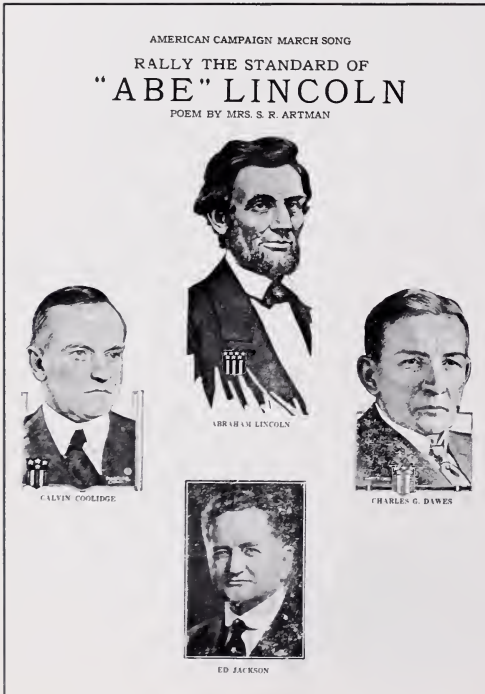
Delaware's only seat in the House. Coolidge carried the state with 58 percent of the vote and each of the coattail candidates won about 60 percent of the votes. DuPont certainly must have savored this big win for he had served as an appointed Senator from July 1921 to November 1922. In 1922 he lost the special election to complete the term by 60 votes out of nearly 74,000; then he lost the general election for a full term in the Senate by 325 votes out of 74,000.

Pennsylvania Republicans produced a beautiful 5" x 7" window sticker with pictures of Edward Martin, Frank M. Trexler, and Samuel S. Lewis. Martin was elected Auditor General in 1924, State Treasurer in 1928, Governor in 1942, and U.S. Senator in 1946 and 1952.

Another Pennsylvania item is the 1926 "Support the Coolidge Administration" button which is sometimes found with a ribbon promoting William S. Vare for U.S. Senator. Vare defeated an incumbent in a bitterly contested primary. In the aftermath there were charges of extraordinary expenditures, corrupt practices, and miscounting of votes. In the General Election, Vare won the seat by 174,000



Bullet Pencil

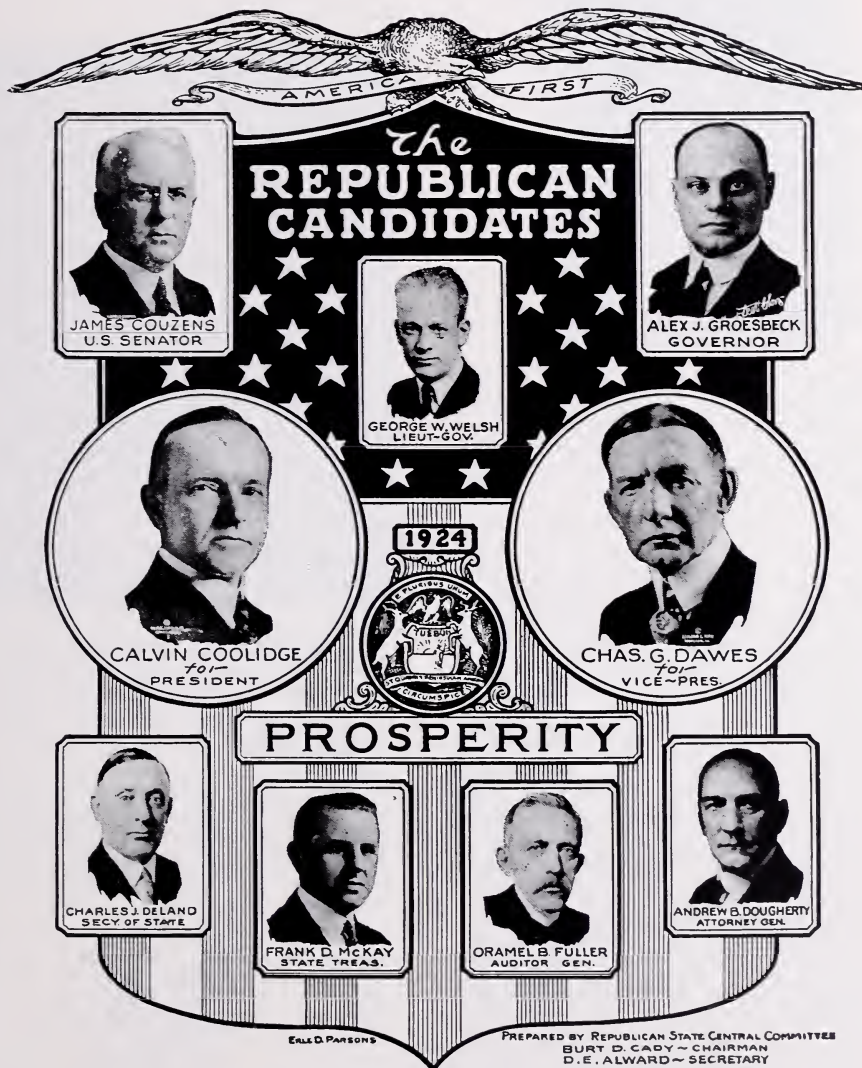


votes, but the Senate refused to seat him after considering the charges for nearly three years.

A similar situation developed in Illinois where Frank L. Smith was elected Senator by 67,000 votes in 1926, but the Senate refused to seat him after a year of testimony and deliberation.

A multigate poster from Michigan exists, although the only known form of it is the original printer's plate. An

imprint of the plate is featured in this issue and includes Governor Alex Groesbeck and U.S. Senator James Couzens among other candidates. Nearby Ohio also produced a jugate button featuring Coolidge and Gov. Harry L. Davis. The Ohio GOP in Columbiana County circulated a multigate postcard with Coolidge, Davis and a number of local candidates.★



Michigan Multigate Poster

1992 APIC/Smithsonian Intern Report

By Jennifer Biancaniello



Jennifer Biancaniello held the post of APIC Intern at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. during the summer of 1992. When her internship was over, she submitted this report to the members of the APIC.

A walk through any one of the Smithsonian Institution's magnificent exhibits is enough to give the viewer a hint of the endless number of objects hidden away in the vast storage areas. Most exhibits on display at the Smithsonian include a general survey of the subject matter as well as detailed and minute variations showing both depth and transition in a given field. Curators often borrow pieces from collections in other departments in order to provide well rounded presentations of their studies. Also, curators coordinate traveling exhibits through the SITES program in order to share the wealth of information which would otherwise lay buried in storage due to a lack of space available in the museum. Thus, the task of managing and organizing the millions of objects which the institution has acquired since its founding in 1846 is as challenging as it is necessary. This was the focus of my internship. During the summer months of 1992, I was in charge of processing hundreds of objects which had been donated by Smithsonian Institution Libraries, The Smithsonian Institution Founding Collection (objects collected by employees), and smaller private donations made by individual collectors.

I began by choosing which objects were most relevant to our collection in the Department of Political History. After making my selections and having them reviewed by my supervisor Larry Bird, I began the process of organiz-

ing them first by categorizing them into appropriate subject headings and then ordering them individually, either chronologically or by breaking down the subject headings even further. Next, the items were catalogued according to the Smithsonian Institution's existing filing system in order to be integrated into the broader collection. Information pertaining to the objects was then recorded on file cards and logged onto the Smithsonian's data base. Most of the objects we chose to keep were "accessioned," meaning that they would become part of the institution's collection and as such would be made available for exhibition, documented and cared for in order that their physical condition would not decline from its current state. The remaining objects, usually fairly common photographs or mass produced items became "non accessioned acquisitions" and are kept on hand to be used as references or used in studies. Finally, all objects were labeled according to their donor, year of accession or acquisition, and stored in a logical sequence in a safe and climate controlled environment.

Other ways in which I dealt with the museum's collection included my attendance at a political rally in Annapolis, Maryland at which I made contact with professionals and volunteers who were part of the campaign, explained to them the significance of their campaign objects to our collection and requested donations. Also, I assisted my supervisor in the gathering of information to be used as text in a traveling poster show that is currently being coordinated through the SITES program. My research allowed me to learn to use the multi media, interlibrary system available at the Smithsonian Institution. I was even fortunate enough to experience working directly with an exhibit already on display. This work involved cleaning the background and supporting structures in the "We the People" exhibit, inventorying the objects on display with a master list, and locating those unaccounted for.

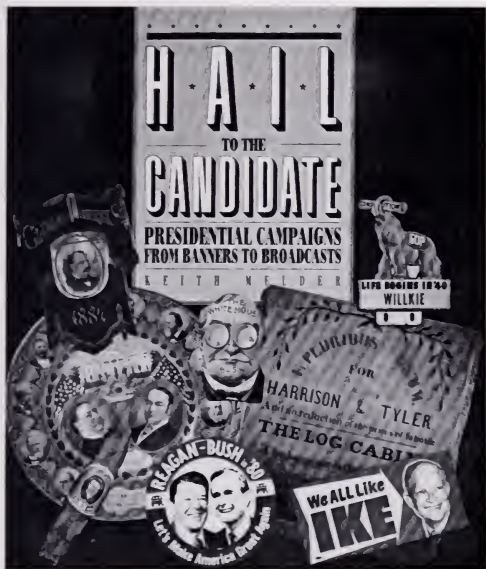
All in all, I feel that I have gained a series of invaluable experiences and acquired skills that I hope to be using in the future. This internship has allowed me to understand the way in which museums work on many levels and has given me the insight to set new goals for the museum system and myself.★



BOOKS IN THE HOBBY

HAIL TO THE CANDIDATE

By Dr. Keith Melder
Reviewed by Dr. Doug Kelley



HAIL TO THE CANDIDATE: PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS FROM BANNERS TO BROADCASTS, by Keith Melder and others. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992. 212 pp., indexed, paperback \$19.95.

With over two hundred pages of handsomely illustrated text, **HAIL TO THE CANDIDATE** is a welcome addition to the growing shelf of currently available books on Presidential campaigning and campaign paraphernalia. The array of illustrations — including over a hundred in full color — is heavy on three-dimensional, paper and textile items. (A few pins appear on ten pages of text; there is but one mechanical and no rebus pin.)

Five chapters provide a chronological review of campaigning methods and paraphernalia, from the Founding Fathers through 1988; additional chapters by Smithsonian staff members Edith P. Mayo and William L. Bird, Jr., focus on campaign appeals to women, and on the political impact of television.

Discussing and illustrating how “during the 19th Century, American politics was transformed from the concern of a minority of the people into a massive

expression of popular excitement,” the book shows “how Presidential elections grew from relatively sedate contests among leaders to explosive, hurrah-style celebrations of democracy.... From the late 1820’s on.... engagement, not observation, was the rule.”

The authors note that “since partisan loyalties and participatory campaigning began declining in the late 19th Century, voter turnout slowly diminished,” and that “the initiative for active involvement has shifted from broadly based political parties toward special interest groups with massive membership lists.” As Ralph Becker laments, “Posterity is the loser in this new game of political campaigning. As the onset of a new technological era in American politics dawns, the age of ‘Tippecanoe and Tyler Too’ is truly no more.”

An appendix presents a list of all major and minor party Presidential nominees up to and including 1988.

Principal author is Dr. Keith E. Melder, Supervisor of the Smithsonian Division of Political History, a Yale Ph.D. in American Studies. Lawyer-collector Ralph E. Becker, who began his massive donations to the Smithsonian’s American political memorabilia collection during the 1960s, suggested this book, and in a five-page Prologue recounts some of his enviable collecting adventures.

There is also a Foreword by Roger Kennedy, Director of the Smithsonian’s National Museum of American History, in which the Political History Division collection is located.

Since in their respective pages both Ralph Becker and Roger Kennedy say they are longtime Republicans, rather noteworthy is the coincidence that the full-color cover of the book illustrates paraphernalia of six 20th Century Republican nominees (Taft, Coolidge, Willkie, Ike, Reagan and Bush) and only one 20th Century Democrat (an unlabelled and barely recognizable Bryan), plus a handsome 1884 Cleveland banner and a Whig item.

Seeking to avoid leaping to paranoid partisan conclusions, this reviewer resorted to a bit of quantitative content analysis. Here are the results:

The Federalist and Whig eras account for 29 of the book’s illustrations; in addition, 9 illustrations are bipartisan, 13 are nonpartisan, and 4 concern minor parties.

But as to Republicans since 1856 and Democrats since 1828: omitting the cover illustrations, paraphernalia illustrations include 45 which are pro-Democratic and 73 which are pro-Republican, along with 8 anti-Democratic and 2 anti-Republican. Examples: There are 12 pro-T. Roosevelt campaign illustrations and 4 pro-F. D. Roosevelt; 12 pro-Ike illustrations and 2 pro-J.F.K. While it’s true that in

nearly all Presidential campaigns Republicans outspent Democrats (a point apparently considered outside the scope of the book), any resulting imbalance in numbers and varieties of paraphernalia worthy of illustration seems an insufficient explanation for the imbalance in a book issued by the national museum of *all* Americans.

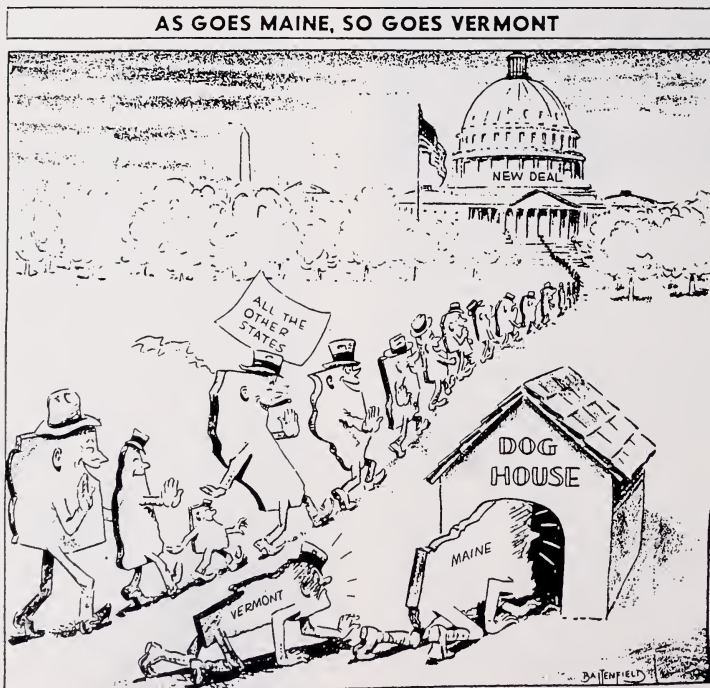
Perhaps statistics don't interest my reader, but history does. HAIL TO THE CANDIDATE's reference to the 1876 Tilden-Hayes contest (p. 24: "the election of 1876, when Democrats were accused of fraud and a Congressional Commission gave the win to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes") contrasts markedly with the concluding comment on this subject in the Smithsonian's 1980 volume, EVERY FOUR YEARS: THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY (pages 125-126: "Many Americans questioned Hayes' title to the Presidency, and labelled him 'His Fraudulency' or 'Rutherfraud' B. Hayes."). Does the reader recall Irish-American "Mr. Dooley's" wisdom regarding the Supreme Court? "No matter whether th' Constitution follows th' flag or not, th' Supreme Court follows th' illiction returns." And maybe museum staff do too? (The book was prepared during the 1980s and published in the spring of 1992.)

Perhaps in a future revised edition these additional questionable statements can be amended: Andrew Jackson is referred to (p. 47) as "the subject of the first campaign biography," despite the fact that in 1800 there were four

editions of a 32-page Thomas Jefferson campaign biography and defense by Jeffersonian activist and past Clerk of the House of Representatives John Beckley. The 1973 biography of John Beckley by Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley refers to the stirring pamphlet as "the first of all campaign lives." There was also an 1820 Monroe campaign biography, an updated version of a book by S. Putnam Waldo first published in 1818.

And as research by Democratic Political Items Collectors Vice-Chair Tim Coughlin (Ballwin, Missouri) has shown, the *rooster* has been a Democratic symbol on campaign devices ever since 1841 (and currently appears as the Democratic ballot symbol in *five* states, compared to the donkey's three states), rather than having often appeared merely "for more than forty years" in the 19th Century, as indicated on p. 39 of HAIL TO THE CANDIDATE. Democratic roosters are indeed crowing again this year, especially in those five rooster ballot symbol states of Indiana (where the symbol originated in 1841), Alabama, Kentucky, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.

Despite these and some additional flaws, HAIL TO THE CANDIDATE is well worth adding to any collector's library. It makes photos and details of many of Ralph Becker's magnificent contributions to the national museum readily available to the general public, and stimulates thought about future directions of political campaign methods. Congratulations to all concerned!★



“As Maine Goes...”

By Robert Rouse

“As Maine Goes, So Goes the Union,”

Whig slogan after 1840

“As Maine Goes, So Goes the Nation,”

Republican slogan, 1888

“As Maine Goes, So Goes Vermont,”

James Farley, FDR's Campaign Manager, 1936



The Berryman cartoon and the Republican button remind us that frequently “truth is in the eye of the beholder” or to cite a variation on a Belgian proverb, “Truth is less what one sees than what one dreams.” These traditional insights were certainly true in 1940 when the wisdom attributed to FDR by Berryman is more prophetic than the wishful thinking attributed to Willkie. Indeed, Republicans wished staunchly Republican Maine would be a national barometer in 1940 after their candidates swept state and congressional elections in September. But alas, this “barometer” was accurate only in Republican years. The button also calls to mind the long evolution behind the national election day that we now take for granted since Maine was the last state to conform to the national pattern.

Until 1960, Maine elected its representatives, senators, and state officials on the second Monday in September instead of on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November as the other states did; but it was required by law to choose presidential electors on the same date as the

other states with the result that Maine held two elections in presidential election years—one in September and one in November. The original constitution of Maine, adopted in 1819, fixed the second Monday in September as election day for both state and federal officials and that provision continued in force through 1958.

Election day was placed in September during the early days because traveling facilities were poor and bad roads and cold snowy weather frequently prevented the rural inhabitants from going to the polls late in the fall. Later, advocates of the earlier date maintained that the dual election system served the important purpose of separating state and national issues in presidential years.

In 1845 Congress fixed the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November as the date for choosing presidential electors in the states, but it did not fix a date for choosing representatives in Congress. Several states continued to hold elections for state officials and members of Congress earlier than the presidential election every fourth year. Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana elected members of Congress and state officials on the second Tuesday in October and in political parlance they were known as the “October States.” The October elections for members of Congress and state officers in these “key states” were supposed to foreshadow public sentiment and serve as a “test” or a “straw” vote for the November elections. Political parties made especially intensive campaigns in the October states to make a good showing in order to influence the “bandwagon vote” throughout the country in the national election. On October 30, 1856, Rutherford B. Hayes wrote in his diary: “I feel seriously the probable defeat of the cause of freedom in the approaching presidential election. Before the October election in Pennsylvania and Indiana, I was confident Colonel Fremont would be elected, but the disastrous results in those states indicate, and will probably do much to produce, his defeat. The majorities are small, very small, but they discourage our side.”

Electing members of Congress at different times in different states proved unsatisfactory and in 1872 Congress enacted a law that required states and territories to elect

their representatives and delegates in Congress on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of 1876 and on the same day every second year thereafter; however, it was provided that this law would not apply to states whose constitutions would have to be amended to effect the change. Senators were not included in the provision because they were elected by the state legislatures until the Seventeenth Amendment providing for the direct, popular election of senators became effective in 1913.

In 1872 only three states—Maine, Arkansas and Oregon—had provisions in their constitutions requiring the election of representatives to Congress on dates other than national election day. Arkansas and Oregon, considered it more convenient, practical, and cost effective to hold Congressional elections every fourth year on the same day as the presidential election and changed their constitutions to conform to the Act of 1872. Several other states continued to hold their elections for state officials at a date earlier than the presidential election every fourth year. This practice was abandoned by Indiana in 1880 and by Ohio in 1884. Maine, however, did not amend her constitution or change the date of state elections, but retained the September election day for both congressional and state offices until the election of 1960.

Because of its earlier election date Maine supplanted the October states as a sort of political barometer for the whole nation. The notoriety provided by nonconformity may have had something to do with the retention of the September election date through 1958. After the Roosevelt landslide of 1936 discredited the saying "*As Maine goes, so goes the nation*," an unsuccessful attempt was made in the legislature to discard the early election date. At that time it was estimated that the "extra" election day cost the taxpayers of the state \$60,000 in presidential years.

For more than a century the September election in Maine was watched with keen interest for a hint as to how the political winds may be blowing. This began in 1840, when Maine had been a state only twenty years. The state had gone Democratic several times before the famous log cabin and hard cider campaign. Former Governor Edward Kent was the Whig candidate for governor and the Whigs in other states rejoiced when Kent received a plurality in the September election. They thought it forecast a victory for Harrison in November and "*Maine went hell-bent for Governor Kent*" became a common slogan. Like many slogans it exaggerated the truth to influence popular perception because, in fact, none of the candidates for Governor in Maine that year received a clear majority at the polls; Kent was finally chosen Governor by the legislature; nevertheless, in November Harrison did defeat Van Buren. Hence, the Whigs propagated the slogan "*As Maine goes, so goes the union*" after the election of 1840.

Statistics demonstrate that the early Maine election was not a dependable political barometer for the whole country, nor even for New England, and thus its results were of little practical value for forecasting. Maine first went Republican in the September and November elections of 1856, but it did not forecast a national Republican



victory. During the seventy-two years from 1856-1928 the state usually went Republican and so did the nation. Not one of the five Democratic Presidential victories from Buchanan in 1856 through Cleveland in 1884 and 1892 to Wilson in 1912 and 1916 was preceded by a Democratic victory in Maine's September election. And when Maine voters did choose local Democratic leadership in September they would sometimes turn around and support the national Republican ticket as they did in November, 1880. In September they chose a Democratic Governor by a majority of 164, but in November they gave Republican James A. Garfield a popular majority of 6,000 over Democrat Winfield Hancock.

The earliest known record of "*As Maine goes, so goes the nation*," occurs in 1888, during the first Cleveland-Harrison campaign, and apparently this variation dates from that time. Many political observers continued to watch Maine on the theory that, although the state was almost sure to go Republican, the majority by which it went Republican in the September election was fairly indicative of how the major parties would fare in the nation as a whole in November. However, historical evidence indicates that the relationship between the shift in the early Maine vote and the later national vote was not a reliable basis on which to form a dependable forecast. This was demonstrated convincingly in 1936 and impressed on the public consciousness by Farley's devastating variation on the old slogan, "*As Maine goes, so goes Vermont*," a theme that was echoed in the *Chicago Times* cartoon. So it is a little surprising that only four years later Republican novelty makers revived and portrayed the old slogan which first appeared a century before by showing the party mascot sliding "downhill" from the easy September triumph in Maine to an assumed victory in California and many states in between. Certainly the designer overestimated the strength of NO THIRD TERM conservatives, Willkie Club members, and the anti-war America First movement, all of which were believed to be significant enhancements to the traditional Republican vote.★

ITEMS OF INTEREST

BE SURE TO SEE PAGE 32 FOR FULL DIRECTIONS

ART SUPPLEMENT, THE BOSTON SUNDAY GLOBE, AUGUST 23, 1896



**INTERCHANGEABLE
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.**
The first Portrait is Mr. McKinley;
the second Portrait of Mr Bryan pieces marked
B, the third Portrait of Mr Hobart pieces marked
H, the fourth Portrait of Mr Sewall pieces marked S,
are made by placing said lettered pieces over Mr
McKinley's bust. One portrait at a time
(The likeness of each at a little distance is perfect.)

Cut out close to work, leaving no white

PATENTED JUNE 23rd 1896

BEND BACK AT
RIGHT ANGLE
TO FORM

BEND BACK AT
RIGHT ANGLE



Crisis In Washington

Mr. Coolidge refuses point blank to vacate the White House until his other rubber is found.